BRITISH MUSEUM

SOUTH WALES (page 7)

Workers' Dreadnought

ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

VOL. VII. No. 32. SATURDAY, OCTOBER 30th, 1920. PRICE TWOPENCE.

THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE BETRAYS THE MINERS.

Thomas Recalled from Prague to Sabotage the Strike.

The Pimps of Labour Selling out to the Bosses.

The Rank and File Must Save the Situation.

Railmen and Transport Workers, Aid the Miners!

One Zealous Communist in a Local can Leaven the Whole Lot.

THE GREAT BETRAYAL.

By T. J. WATKINS.

The betrayal of the miners by the Triple Alliance has been clear to the rank and file of the miners for some time now, as in the earlier conference it was clearly manifest that Clynes and Thomas were out to get the miners' case into their own hands, and Thomas suggested the handing over of our case to them. This was met by Hartshorn refusing and stating that such a thing would be impossible, as no organisation could hope to live under such conditions. He was stating this on behalf of the miners, realising that in the hands of such notorious compromisers he could not maintain the unity of his own rank and file; not that the miners' leaders wanted a strike, but if any prestige was to be attached to the evading of the strike, they wanted the credit, which they would not yield to Clynes and Thomas. They made it perfectly clear that the rank and file could not rely on any such support.

J. H. Thomas's Sabotaging Tricks.

Why was J. H. Thomas recalled from Prague? Was it not to try and influence the railwaymen not to strike? But if he came into the strike it would be to save the funds of his organisation, to shorten the period of the strike, and we do not require much intelligence to see what the game is. He came back to sabotage the miners' wage strike and sell us for 2s. under any condition that may be attached to it.

Who fooled Ben Tillet, M.P., into thinking that he could save the situation when he rushed up to find that the conference was over? He can tell, but we know!

It is only the rank and file that can save the situation, as further parleying manifestly means more and more compromise. The whole force of capitalism is getting into line, and the Emergency Powers Bill is a direct attack on the Trade Union movement, and is only the culmination of the struggle between two irreconcilable forces. How can we rely on a force so notoriously compromised as the men whose pictures are on every railway station of the country under the headline: *More Production.*

To the rank and file of the Railway and Transport workers we address our appeal. Do not let an effete and obsolete officialism defeat the miners in this struggle. It is only by the united effort of the rank and file of these unions that the situation can be saved. An ounce of practice is worth a ton of theory in this fight. Do not rely on those leaders who are always on the lookout for notoriety and Press popularity. They who are ever making mistakes have often forced you to come to unacceptable terms by threatening to resign. The time is fast approaching when this bluff of theirs will not avail. Do not allow them the power to negotiate any more, but insist on their carrying out your mandate, and, if they do not give effect to it, let us fire them out of our movement, and let them go over to the class they are now serving in words and in actions.

Our only hope is in the might of our own arm. This is what we Communists know and teach, and want you to practice. An active and intelligent Communist in a Trade Union branch or lodge will be able to leaven the whole section of his class, and bring about the day when the Labour Fakirs can no longer sell our just claims to the bosses.

FROM A SOUTH WALES RANK AND FILER.

Withdrawal of Keymen: Sabotage v. Control.

One does not like to anticipate the workers being shot down, without an opportunity to defend themselves. As for myself, life is too insignificant in this stupendous struggle for me to worry about death, but when one has a measure (be it ever so small), of control over the destiny of others, one cannot lightly lead them on to their certain doom. I believe that from my instinctive reluctance to endanger the safety of my comrades and bring more sorrow into their already sad lives, I shall develop the needed strength and high courage to stand firm in the hour of danger.

We are making every effort in South Wales to co-ordinate mass action. We—the rank and file—are making great efforts to withdraw, at the end of this week, all the men now working, that is, ostlers, fanmen who drive the fans that ventilate the colliery, stokers for the engines, pumpsmen who work the pumps that clear the water from the workings, and the winding-engine men who lower the officials to make their periodic examinations. Personally, I do not altogether approve of this, as it is merely sabotage, and sabotage at a moment when we may take control. But so much is lacking now—the means whereby we may maintain the power after we have gained it! You will understand what is implied. But perhaps, after all, it might be better to destroy and be destroyed, than for us working men to go back to a state of inevitable industrial slavery.

FACTS ABOUT THE STRUGGLE.

By A. L. HORNER.

The miners are at grips with the combined forces of capitalism, plus the renegades of their own class.

The consequences of the struggle are difficult to foresee. The issues at stake we know, but they (i.e. the 2s. increase in wages and 14s. 2d. off the selling price of coal) are not as important as the potentialities of the struggle as it develops.

The original demands meant not merely what the superficial observer may have thought. These claims were deliberately framed to exhaust the surplus profit of the industry, notwithstanding that it was the Government who was securing the advantage of such surplus.

The mere fact of such a basis for the claim was in itself a confession of realisation for purposes of Government, in this country. The reduction of 14/2 per ton was, not forgetting statements to contrary, tactics, not so much adopted to secure the 2/-, but to exhaust the surplus. On no other ground could it be justified.

That any claim for increase in wages, should be based on the fact of the existence of surplus values, is a distinct step forward in the right direction, and one which challenges fundamentally, the whole structure of capitalist production. The delay which allowed the Government the opportunity for skirmishing, was the first mistake. They were enabled by this respite to make certain moves which gave them great tactical advantages.

Tactics of the Bosses.

Firstly, Export coal was diverted inland, and every one conversant with the coal situation, knows that coal sold abroad, provides huge profits, whilst that disposed of inland, with control price, is sold at a loss, that is to say, below cost of production. Thus, they were enabled to prejudice the miners' case to the dockers and others, by charging the miners with ca-canny, which resulted in wholesale unemployment. They were enabled to stock huge quantities of coal, in preparation for a stoppage.

How the Surplus was Reduced.

This had its effect upon the figures for the June quarter, which showed a 50 per cent. reduction in the net surplus, and in addition, France having fixed a maximum price on import coal, was attempting to reduce the figure at which coal was sold to her by this country. The effect was consequently minimised, serving both to break the French embargo and the miners' case. The reduction of the surplus, as shown by the June figures, caused the panic which drove the M.F.G.B. to offer to accept the proposal for a tribunal to decide the selling price of Inland coal, and whilst this did not fundamentally alter the situation, it was evidence of weakness, which was exploited to the fullest degree. Hence the Datum Line was born, (the birth pangs have

(Continued on page 7).

A Straight Talk to "Dreadnought" Readers.

By MINNIE BIRCH.

I make an appeal to all honest and thinking men and women of the working class, to give their intelligent consideration and attention to the Comunist Party. I appeal to all class-conscious workers, to all workers who are awakened to the many injustices, inequalities and errors of our present social system, and especially to those workers who are engaged on the vast industrial field where, undoubtedly, a great deal of propaganda remains to be done.

If you are conscious of the evils of Capitalism, and are not a member of the Communist Party, then you will be well advised to join at once and enter the ranks of those who have fought, suffered, and bled for Freedom.

Indifference of Certain Class of Workers.

With a very few noble exceptions, the man or woman who now lives on accumulated wealth, produced at the expense of the labouring masses, is unlikely to feel desirous that a fundamental change in the system should take place. Neither is the worker who is totally ignorant of his position in society, and this type of worker, it is sad to relate, is only too numerous. Many of them are possessed of no desire to understand the cause of their own poverty and degradation, and by their ignorance and indifference, condemn their children to be perpetual slaves

Once a member of the Communist Party, no worker will experience any difficulty in propagating ideas, spreading the gospel of honest discontent, working for the destruction of the propertied system.

The Party consists of members mostly drawn from the ranks of the toiling classes in all sections of agriculture and industry, who accept the seven cardinal points which are laid down as a basis of membership. The organisation is essentially controlled by the members. There is no opportunity whatever within the ranks for a pack of vote-catchers or job-hunters to hinder the progress of Communism. The members have lost faith in the Parliamentary machine, so that it is hardly likely that individuals of the Labour-leader type will be in any way drawn towards such a Communist Party. As for office- and place-seekers, there are no jobs going that would be likely to attract such individuals.

As a member of the Party, you will find much hard work, but if you are moved by a deep desire to make Communist ideas manifest among your class, you will not look for immediate material benefits, but will go ahead at all costs.

Aims of the Communist Party.

Briefly, the Communist Party stands for:—

"From each according to his ability,
To each according to his needs."

The land to be handed over to the land workers.

The factories to be administered by the industrial workers.

The free access of all workers to all the necessities of life.

The fullest freedom to be extended to every individual within the community, providing no attempt is made by one person to live at the expense of another.

The fundamental aim of the Communist Party is the breaking up of all Empires, and the formation of a World Federation of Soviet Republics. We of the Communist Party, are of the opinion that the time for action has arrived, and we hail with enthusiasm any attempt on the part of the labouring masses to revolt againt the existing state of affairs. We are out to revolutionise society by the quickest and surest method. We seek to act, because actions speak louder than words.

To the members of the Communist Party, it is obvious that Capitalism is doomed to destruction, as all forms of society which are built upon human parasitism. It is obvious that this being the case, reforms and palliatives are no remedy and we seek to remove the foundation from whence the evils spring.

We seek to establish a society which is based instead, on Communal Co-operation.

The revolution must be effected by the most intelligent and class-conscious of the workers. The task must be left to them. It is not an enviable task; it is not an easy task; but it is a noble task. It is a task which all true men and women will be proud to perform.

"We want to change human nature," they tell us; and I reply: "Precisely so. To change human nature to what it *would* have been had it not been blighted and thwarted by the unwholesome state of society under which human beings have been compelled to exist."

The Communist Party invites into its ranks, all workers who are prepared to play a part in the coming struggle, without regard to sex, craft or creed. Those who are used as hirelings of the master-class in times of industrial unrest, and are instructed even to turn the machine guns on their own class, are only wage-slaves like other workers. They themselves have the same human needs, food, clothing and shelter, and are very much like everybody else when it comes to this sort of thing Some day they will realise all this, and some of them might stand by their class and victory will be assured.

Every reader of the *Dreadnought* should be a Party member. What part have you hitherto played in this fight, and *what are you going to do?*

COMRADE EMERY ON THE JOB IN COVENTRY.

To the Working Class:—

It being of great importance that the workers should have accurate information concerning every manifestation of working class activity, the Coventry Unemployed Workers' Committee issues this official statement as to its work and objects.

The Committee was elected at a Mass Meeting of unemployed workers, attended by about 1,200 persons. It is important to note that each member of the Committee is a delegate subject to immediate recall. Three members are direct delegates from the unmployed ex-service men, who have thrown in their lot with their fellow workers.

All decisions as to activities, and all resolutions, either emanate from the mass meetings—which most frequently is the case—or, are submitted by the Committee to the Mass Meetings for approval, rejection or amendment.

The first move was to the Employment Exchange and Council House, but, for obvious reasons, tactics were changed.

1. Mass marches to works and work-gates meetings for propaganda.

2. Requisition for a Town's Meeting, in these terms:—

To His Worship, the Mayor of Coventry:

Sir:—

"We, the undersigned, Citizens of Coventry, request that a Town's Meeting be called at the earliest date possible to consider the method whereby the growing volume of unemployment in this City may be overcome, and a full living assured to all citizens willing to render useful service to the community."

3. The passing of the following resolution at a Mass Meeting—to be put to the Towns Meeting on October 4th, 1920.

"Seeing that everyone who is willing to render useful service to the community has a right to enjoy all the benefits won by labour from nature, we demand that all workers shall have maintenance whether working or not.

"Also inasmuch as private interests should give way to the interests of the community, we demand, as a practical solution of the unemployment problem that:—

"(1) The Civic Authority, with representatives of the Unemployed Workers' Committee, invite the Russian Trade Delegation to meet them, in order to find what commodities Russia is prepared to purchase from us.

"(2) That a factory or factories be taken in the interest of the community to produce such commodities, and that the workers in such factory or factories shall elect their own management and foremen.

"(3) That the Civic Authorities pledges itself to use its power in preventing the private interests of persons, who may be opposed to this scheme, from hindering the Workers' Committee in their work.

Addendum:—

"That the City Council provide at the Council House a Committee Room for the use of the Unemployed Workers' Committee."

At a crowded Town's Meeting, the resolutions were carried.

On the above, and touching the unemployment problem generally, the Coventry Unemployed Workers' Committee make the following remarks:—

The unemployed worker to-day is in his outlook totally different from the unemployed in pre-war years. In evidence for this may be remarked the defeating of a resolution put to the Town's Meeting, proposing the setting up of a Relief Committee.

Propaganda at the factory gate and marches to the factories have two effects: firstly, they point to all workers their real goal, that without workers' control of the means of production, there can be no solution to the unemployment problem. Secondly, they emphasise the essential need for the workers to organise and and unite as a class and not sectionally, as skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled, putting into practice that slogan, "an injury to one is an injury to all," by organising on Industrial Union lines.

The Committee is determined not to mislead the workers into side issues, but insist upon the overthrow o Capitalism fas the only solution for unemployment and all the grievances of the workers which arise from their status as wage slaves.

We claim that the resolution quoted above is practical and will help the immediate situation, whilst keeping the eyes of the workers on the goal.

The perfect discipline of the unemployed workers is a happy augury for the success of the task before us, and will play a great part in creating order out of chaos.

If we, the Coventry Unemployed Workers' Committee, have done something to create working-class solidarity and a desire for better things, then we hope our reward will be to see other workers marching with us, improving on our methods if they can, towards an Industrial Commonwealth.

On behalf of the Coventry Unemployed Workers' Committee,
H. M. EMERY, *Hon. Sec.*
October, 1920.

MODERN MACHINERY AND INCREASED PROFITS.

The Fall in the Rate of Profit.

I have no desire whatsoever to enter into any prolonged controver y with your correspondent Ness Edwards; but surely he is at variance with the facts when he says that the introduction of machinery into industry and the consequent increase in the productiveness of labour are responsible for the creation of less surplus value. If that were so, then how are we to explain the development of Capitalism since the middle of the 18th century? The fact is, that surplus value increases as the productiveness of labour increases; that is the incentive which makes every capitalist strive to improve his machinery.

The value of every commodity will, of course, be reduced by the reduction of the labour embodied in it; but that does not mean that the surplus value will be reduced. The fact that, owing to the introduction of machinery, the amount of value embodied in each individual commodity will be compensated by the fact that the mass of these commodities will increase in greater ratio. Under Capitalism this is the primary function of machinery. We see, therefore, that machinery increases the exploitation of the workers and reduces, relatively, their position in society. Logically and historically this is the case.

The rate of profit, which has to be distinguished from the rate o surplus value, is reduced by various fators, chief among which are the increase of constant at the expense of variable capital; and, on the other hand, by a device well known to all capitalist concerns, *viz.*, watering of stock. This, however, does not mean that the rate of surplus value and therefore, of exploitation is reduced; on the contrary, it is generally an indication of a heightening of exploitation. The whole history of capitalist production centres round the tendency to increase the productiveness of labour and thus increase the surplus value squeezed out of it.

ERGATOCRAT

Economic Plight of the Lower Deck.

State Allowances Payable in Respect of Petty Officers and Men of the Fleet.

The statement given below was put out by the Authorities themselves. It shows what has been done officially to nullify the economic gain, that an increase in wages would have brought to the men. The appeal it makes to class-conscious workers is greater than any words that our comrades who brave the perils of the deep could say to their fellow toilers on land.

(1) *The following payments will definitely cease on the last pay day in September* 1920 :—

(a) Allowance for dependants other than wives and children, including the special Parents' Allowance ;

(b) Allotment Concession ;

(c) Navy Supplementary Separation Allowance;

(d) The London Allowance of 3s. 6d. a week, hitherto paid in the case of wives resident in London ;

(e) Allowance for unmarried wives and illegitimate children ;

(f) Allowances for adopted children ;

(g) Allowances for children above the noromal elementary school age—at present 14 years ;

(h) Allowances for apprentices, and children above the normal elementary school age who are mentally

Relatives, other than legal wives and legitimate children, who are at present in receipt of Separation Allowances or Parents' Allowance, will in future receive only the amount actually deducted from the Seaman's wages.

(2) As from the first Thursday in October next, a Marriage Allowance for the wives and children of married Petty Officers and men of H.M. Navy will be instituted and will take the place of the present Separation Allowance and kindred Allowances.

(3) This Marriage Allowance will be paid for legal wives and legitimate children or step-children only. (Illegitimate children where the parents subsequently marry one another will be recognised). Payment will only be made where husband and wife are living together, or where they are separated solely by the exigencies of the Service.

(4) In view of the increased rates of pay granted to the Navy in 1919, it has been decided to introduce qualifying allotments more in accordance with existing rates of pay, and the grant of Marriage Allowance will normally be conditional upon an allotment being declared at not less than 14s. a week for lower ratings and 21s. or 28s. a week for higher ratings.

(5) This condition will apply to the cases of motherless children as well as to cases where payment is made to a wife, but it will be open to the man to make special arrangements with the guardian of the children as to the expenditure of the money.

(6) The Allowance will not be paid in respect of men under the age of 25. The age limit will not apply in the case of men already married and entitled to Separation Allowance under existing conditions.

(7) For the half-year October, 1920, to March, 1921, Marriage Allowance will be paid in respect of all eligible men irrespective of their ratings on the following scale :—

	Weekly.		Rates for Children, including Motherless Children.	Weekly.	
	s.	d.		s.	d.
Wife and 4 children.....	35	0			
For a wife	9	6	1st child ..	9	6
Wife and 1 child	19	0	2nd child ..	7	6
Wife and 2 children	26	6	3rd child...	5	6
Wife and 3 children	32	0	4th child ...	3	0

and 3s. for each additional child.

(8) As on and from the first Thursday in April, 1921, the rates of Marriage Allowance payable will depend upon the cost of living. Particulars of the rates then payable, and of any subsequent alterations, will be announced in due course.

The Trafalgar Square Demonstration.

Secretary's Notes.

Fine weather and a splendid audience favoured us on Sunday, the 24th inst., for our monthly Trafalgar Square Demonstration. The Party is specially indebted to Comrades Minnie Birch, R. Bishop, John Steele, Melvina Walker, W. Cornwallis, and to Comrade Thomas, who spoke in the order given, for their clear and fearless exposition of Communism. We were able to keep two sides of the plinth going most of the time, and had we had a sufficient muster of speakers, we could easily have had large crowds on three sides. I hope this may be possible at our next effort. No less than fourteen comrades of the Soho group rallied to this effort, and Comrade Cornwallis, their Secretary, who filled the bill at very short notice, held the crowd with his experiences as a Scotch miner. With the accession of the International Communist League, that band of Comrades who have carried the day in face of the strongest opposition, for freedom of Communist propaganda in Hyde Park, the list of Party speakers is splendidly augmented, and Comrades John Steele and Thomas from this group, had well-deserved applause.

Let us go forward, Comrades.

Two years ago, such a demonstration would have been an impossibility. Things are moving rapidly. The audience, which was of huge dimensions, splendidly supported the speakers, and donated £4 13s. 2d. to the fighting fund by coppers and small coin thrown on to the plinth.

Loyalty to the Organisation.

To-day is a new day, and the Third International demands loyalty to the revolutionary organisation, a much different matter from the loose associations of the past. Zinoviev, in one of his pamphlets, vividly describes how the Bolsheviks, in all their trials and work, were for years upheld by their loyalty to the Party. It was such loyalty that made the ultimate triumph of their revolutionary organisation possible. We, to-day, are in the early stages, where the organisation is mostly occupied with organising Communist propaganda, but sterner things are ahead, and I hope all comrades will realise the need of solidarity and loyalty to the organisation. It is through that alone that the further development from mere talk will be possible.

To the Greater Unity.

Preparations for the Conference that the Third International calls for, of all Communist parties in Britain, for January, ought soon to be made. The National Shop Stewards have suggested Saturday, November 20th, for two members of each party to meet to draw up arrangements. This is a sound suggestion, that I hope will be accepted by all other parties. It is our hope that at that January Conference, all Third Internationalists of Great Britain, may be able to find some common basis from which they can work forward to revolutionary triumph. Personally, I have yet to be convinced from my reading of the thesis, that the Third International *insists* on Parliamentarism for British Communists. It is not certain that the matter is not open for us to decide otherwise, taking into consideration the whole series of conditions existing. However, this point, and many others, can only be decided when we have the complete thesis in the hands of the members.

To Class-Conscious Workers in the Trade Unions.

I want to appeal specially to those class-conscious workers, who have put in many years' work, strictly on the industrial field, in the Trade or Industrial Unions, or in the Shop Steward Movement. The workers need a revolutionary organisation, and into that organisation should enter all the most advanced, most intelligent, most class-conscious workers. That organisation is the Communist Party. That should be entered, and that should be supported, whilst still retaining your Union card, and also working within your Union. Only through such a revolutionary organisation will triumph become possible. It is your duty then, to enrol in the revolutionary ranks to-day. It is your duty to support the Third International, by becoming a member of the Third International to-day. Give the Communist Party the support of your membership and the support of your money. Both are needed if it is to grow to that power that can carry through the revolution for the workers. Even if you do not join yourself, see that your branch and the group of rebels round you give their support to the Workers' Class Revolutionary Organisation. We badly need it in our early days.

All applications for membership, to the National Secretary, Edgar T. Whitehead, 8, Sinclair Gardens, West Kensington, London, W.14.

E. T. WHITEHEAD.

	Each.	Doz.
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"HOW TO GET A LABOUR GOVERNMENT."

A Reply By CLARA COLE.

Dear Editor,—Rubinstein's article in the long run will lead nowhere, and will not pay. Let us take late historical precedents. Bela Kuhn (Vantus and Haubrich) on September 4th admitted he lost the revolution when it was in the palm of his hand, by trusting and hoping that men who had been parlimentarians could act or think as whole-hogger Communists when the time was ripe.

Kunsiner, in "Finnish Revolution," admits that the Revolution was lost through parliamentary tactics. Thirty thousand innocent working men and women were murdered in cold blood in prisons and otherwise through this mistake.

Is not the effect of the parliamentary mind and *result* obvious enough in the way the leaders have acted when the men only asked for a paltry 2s. per shift for themselves on a commodity of which we should not be able to make up *one* fire if the miners did not face hell every day for it and give four lives into the unholy bargain. Up to now the leaders have been in office and have *resisted* the demands, not *voiced* them. Rubinstein must be polite in order to get into Parliament. Why waste time doing that, when he can be rude far more effectually outside ?

There is much more I could say, but I revert to lost revolutions. The Italians trusted to Giolitti and the Trade Union leaflers, and lost the most bloodless opportunity of a revolution ever conceived, or thrown into the lap of the proletariat by the capitalists refusing to grant the strike demands.

There is much more I could say, but I have done with the remark that a starving people will make short shrift of any Parliament that does not supply it with bread. If Parliament is a dead horse, why flog it ?

A SOVIET RED BOOK.

The People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the Russian Soviet Republic has just published a "Red Book," giving the diplomatic documents between Russia and Poland from 1918 until 1920. There is a preface by Tchitcherin. The foreign policy of the Soviet Government, because it represents the will of the working masses, has always in view the proletariat of those countries with which Soviet Russia has to deal or to negotiate. The Soviet diplomacy appeals to the proletariat of other countries, not only when it addresses a manifesto to the working masses, but also when the Soviet Government speaks to the Government of another country.

The Red Book contains 89 documents. The first is dated January 13th, 1918, the last, May 7th, 1920. The book is written in French, and has 119 pages. Moscow is mentioned as the place of publication.

The Ministry of Labour has announced that men and women out of work on and after December 6th, when the first payment of State benefit is due under the Unemployment Insurance Act, are *not to receive benefit unless they have been in employment during each of the four preceding weeks. People unemployed during the four weeks preceding December 6th, cannot qualify for unemployment benefit till they have been in work for four consecutive weeks.*

This barbarous and insulting provision should be another spur to the unemployed and the workers generally to end the iniquitous rule of the employing classes.

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THE MURDERED MARTYRS.

The barbarity of ancient and modern warfare, the religious persecution of the middle ages, the swift savagery of primitive peoples in despatching their victims, all pale into insignificance before the hideous tragedy of the slow murder of Terence MacSwiney, by the authorities.

Communists, to whom the struggle for National freedom is but a faded leaf amongst the million pages of history, those who have not made themselves familiar with the full history of the struggle of the Irish peasantry against English aggression, cannot grasp adequately the meaning of the fight of the Irish people for freedom. It has been a fight of centuries. Robbed of their land and and its products, hampered in the development of their industries, denied the right to trade with other nations legitimately, the population depleted by Irish men and women being driven from their home by British Imperialism to find refuge in foreign lands, the Irish people have pressed fearlessly on, never turning aside from the path of freedom.

In spite of prominent bourgeois Nationalists being the leading spirits of Sinn Fein, the movement is fundamentally economic and working-class. At present, Imperial oppression has forced the Irish workers to become National Communists. With their industries being destroyed by English capitalists, with their lives always in danger from the military and all its auxilliaries in their occupied country, Irish men and women are compelled to be Communistic in word, deed and outlook.

No people can look outward into the world of International Communism when their vision is obscured by the terrible menace of dominant and foreign Imperialism. The Irish workers must march to Communism over the dead body of Imperialism. The spirit of Terence MacSwiney, with the spirits of many other Irish martyrs, known and unknown, small and great, will lead them on.

Tortured Unto Death.

Michael Fitzgerald, Terence MacSwiney and Joseph Murphy were murdered, with the paid servants of English Capitalism in pompous attendance. Terence MacSwiney was tortured unto death. He was not forcibly fed when he was strong enough to undergo the strain. But when he was in a state of coma, whence he would have passed restfully from his prison-world, the peace of his last moments was snatched from him by the medicine men of the British Government. They pumped food into the frail dying body of the man. The spirit was nearly fled, but even the flesh was rebellious, it refused the food, vomiting up the nourishment of the British gaolers. They refused him freedom and life. They made sure that his end should be a moment of misery.

MALONE ON LARKIN.

On Thursday, October 21st, Comrade Malone, in the House of Commons, asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, whether he is aware that James Larkin is ill and serving a long term of years in an American prison, and whether the Government has made any representations to the Government of the United States concerning Larkin's condition.

Harmsworth replied that Larkin was in prisou for advocating the overthrow of the United States' Government, and his Government could take no action regarding his case. The latter statement was cheered, and Malone created much merriment by asking if His Majesty's Government has no sympathy for its subjects in foreign lands.

Jim Larkin, in Dannemora prison, will not thank Malone for asking ridiculous questions about his case. First of all, Larkin is an Irishman, whose country is (as has been stated by Lloyd George), at war with England. And Irishmen do not regard themselves as British subjects. Furthermore, and of more importance, Larkin is a revolutionary, and a Communist cannot conceive of his begging the Imperialists of England to protect him against the Plutocrats of America.

L'Estrange Malone is a well-meaning man, a professed Parliamentary Communist. He has been adopted by the Maiden Lane Communist Party. His revolutionary Parliamentarism seems a very mild thing. And his questions in the House are unconvincing to the average Trade Unionist, much less to an anti-Parliamentarian.

DREADNOUGHT IN DANGER.

YOUR support is needed more than ever to keep the paper going. The Government has seized our Comrade-Editor, Sylvia Pankhurst, thinking that by so doing it will cripple our revolutionary activities and disorganise our forces. The Communist Party is determined to carry on and keep its organ alive. It is up to YOU to do your part.

Apply for a collecting card !

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Owing to lack of space, we are reluctantly compelled to hold over the complete list of subscribers to the above fund.

THE "DREADNOUGHT" IN PARLIAMENT.

A. Hopkinson (Mosseley, Lancs., C.L.) an employer, remarked in the House on Thursday :—

"There are people in this country, and one or two Members of this House, who say that the only salvation for the human race, and the only way of prosperity for the working classes, is to do as little work as they possibly can." [Labour cries of "No, no !"] "I am afraid the Labour Members who deny that did not do as I do—read the *Workers' Dreadnought.*" [General laughter.]

Whilst the Bosses and their Government are fully aware of the importance of the revolutionary movement among the working classes, insomuch that extreme, repressive measures are being taken to stem the swelling tide of labour unrest in Britain, the contented Labour officials are living in a fool's paradise. J. H. Thomas airily waives aside the Communist movement here. "It is of no importance," he says. Our leading pacifist Socialist abuses our Communist comrades in Poplar and tries to stir up the passions of the crowd against them. One loud-mouthed fire-eater is afraid of the consequences of the Revolution, whilst our Bolshevik Labour M.P. told his simpering I.L.P. audience at Portsmouth that he is willing to grant the capitalists compensation. These traitors to our Cause in their crass stupidity and blindness endeavour to fool the bosses about the workers, fool the workers about the bosses, and fool themselves about the workers. But the revolutionaries will soon have them on the run.

MUST FACTORY SEIZURES FAIL?

Most of us who had imagined the seizure of factories in Italy was the beginning of things, must have been disapointed when the Italian workers gave up possession. It would have been indeed a great thing if they had kept in possession. But it was inevitable that they would have to give up.

It simply couldn't be helped. It is useless to start anything Communist on a small scale. This fact must be faced by all comrades, especially those who believe in what they call "Practical Communism" on the land.

And in order to find out why these "experiments" fail, it is only necessary to look at things as they are. We will then see the reason at once.

The base of the present system under which things are made, sold, and exchanged, is credit. There is really very little actual money going about. Most business is done by means of credit notes, and all the other means which are provided by the bankers.

Supposing the workers of a given factory take over that factory. They will first of all want raw materials out of which to manufacture goods. How are they to pay for these raw materials?

It is understood, of course, that this factory-seizing occurs under the present system—that is to say, Capitalism. The capitalists who supply the raw materials are hardly likely to accept credit notes from what are to them criminals. It would, of course, be a "crime" according to capitalist views, for workers to seize a factory which they themselves had helped to build up. It is, of course, a different thing for a ring of capitalists to "freeze out" small shopkeepers by undercutting with prices, and so buying them out at a thieving price.

It is possible, however, that the workers would be able to draw money from the firm's account in the bank—but is it likely? Banking accounts cannot be withdrawn so easily and it is the usual practice for cheques to be signed by a couple of directors in the firm. A little third-degree business might induce two such directors to sign; but there is no absolute guarantee that the bankers would pay out even then.

Some manufactured goods could be disposed of, and the buyers be asked to pay cash down. Again we come up against capitalist morality. They would consider the transaction as buying stolen goods, and this makes them legally liable to forfeiture without compensation. If they bought at all, they would pay in through a bank, and so safeguard themselves to some extent.

In any case, it is doubtful if the workers could keep a factory going for a decent length of time. This is apart from the fact that the Government would, of course, send round troops to preserve the usual "order."

The fact is, that the isolated seizure of factories *must* fail in an ocean of capitalism. It is, of course, a good thing, once factory seizures begin, but in order to succeed, the seizures must spread all over the country. In other words, factory seizures should be national. That would mean a revolution, anyway.

A national revolution is, however, a ticklish thing, as has been seen in the case of Russia; and even more so in the cases of Hungary and Germany. Just as isolated factory-seizures mean some compromise with the "owners," or with the Govenrment, so also isolated national revolutions mean the compromising with outside states that are still capitalistic.

The revolution must be International to succeed altogether. But a revolution begins at home, and it begins with small things. It must begin on the job. Organise on the job, and organise by workshops; then build up by industries and then federate with similar organisations abroad. This will enable manufactories here to be in direct touch with the source of raw materials abroad. And this alone will make for the success of a revolution, and this means *work*. Get busy!

L. A. MOTLER.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

RUSSIA.

In an article in "Pravda," entitled "We are stronger than we were," Trotsky summarises the Russian spring and summer campaigns on the Polish front.

"The Polish landed gentry is intoxicated with the recent successes. The Polish Press has again remembered the frontier of 1772. The Polish delegation in Minsk made attempts to speak to us in the language of conquerors . . .

"The Polish army has become exhausted and has stopped. The Red Army has concentrated upon new positions and has established itself more firmly than before. The old cadres which have become hardened in all the battles of Soviet Russia have regained their strength after their failures, and have once more firmly closed their ranks. A wide stream of new forces fills the old divisions. Communist volunteers and Trade Unionists are at the head of new reinforcements, inspiring them with a striving for freedom."

Wrangel in the Crimea.

Moscow, October 13th.—"Pravda" gives a most interesting and characteristic account about Wrangel's "Paradise" in the Crimea. Terror and lawlessness reigns in the Crimea, surpassing all imagination. Executions in public and violation of women by officers of the secret police have become quite common occurrences. Drunkenness and debauches of officers and daylight robberies complete the picture. The democratic Zemstvos, the all-country councils, and town municipalities were dissolved, and recent re-elections completely arranged by government gave the majority to the monarchists. Owing to lack of money and credits, even these miserable "free institutions" are quite unable to perform public duties. Trade Union work is hindered by the Government, and they are recognised neither by the authorities nor by the capitalists. A series of protests in the country districts were suppressed with the usual cruelty. Crimean Musselmen now constitute the most revolutionary element. Mobilisations and floggings gave rise to numerous "green" detachments hiding in the Crimean hills and forests. They joined a Soviet insurgent army, having a general staff and well-organised forces. This insurgent army captured many positions and towns and caused great harm to Wrangel's military bases. Most mountain roads became unpassable for Wrangel's caravans. The cost of living in the Crimea is quite incredible: a single room costs from 40 to 150 rubles monthly; dinner up to 10,000 rubles; a suit costs one million rubles, etc. No sound trade can exist, and only the wildest speculation and profiteering is going on, in which military authorities take prominent parts.

Russian Electric Train Beats Record.

Moscow, October 16th.—An electric train, invented by an engineer named Makhonin, arrived at Moscow on the evening of October 12th, having left Petrograd at 8 o'clock on the same day. It ran a hundred and fifty versts without interruption, and covered the whole distance from Petrograd without re-charging, thus beating the world's record, as German electric trains can only travel three hundred and fifty kilometres without re-charging.

Russia Launches Concrete Vessel.

Moscow, October 15th.—The first Russian vessel of reinforced concrete was launched at Samara a few days ago. Such vessels will gradually replace the wooden barges of the Volga fleet.

To the Wrangel Front!

Moscow, October 5th, 1920.—The late Russian war prisoners who arrived lately from France in Odessa joined voluntarily, by an overwhelming majority, the Red Army, and have been sent to the Wrangel front.

A Marx School.

Copenhagen, 11th October, 1920.—A new school has been founded in Moscow for the education of Soviet and Trade Union officials. The course takes about five months: two months for the general and three months for the special instruction. The whole course is based upon the teachings of Marx.

Lenin's Speech on the Political Situation.

At the first session of the All-Russian Conference of the Communist Party, Lenin spoke on the present political situation. The peace propositions which Soviet Russia made to Poland in January were interpreted by the Western bourgeoisie as weakness and gave rise in Poland, France, etc., to new outbreaks of the wildest jingoism. The Red troops beat the Poles and advanced against Warsaw. Later the Red army was forced to a temporary retreat, but their advance had far-reaching political results.

Lenin on our Councils of (In)action.

We saw in England the creation of a Workers' Council of Action, which seem to contend in power and influence with the Government itself. Then we have in Poland the petty-bourgeoisie which is sick of war. The Polish financial and economic structure has, as one well can see, arrived at an abyss. We therefore take it that bourgeois Poland will not survive the coming winter's war, whereas Russia has still rich sources to draw upon. Our stocks of wheat and other foods are greater than those of the last two years. We can await, full of confidence, the final victory, which belongs to us.

Russian Railways.

Speeding-up work on the Russian Soviet railways has given very good results on the Western lines; where the average pace of freight and military trains was ten verst per hour last February, it reached 19 versts per hour in August. The average pre-war commercial speed on Russian railways was 13.14 versts per hour.

GERMANY.

A Strike for Land.

Frankfort, 12th October, 1920.—On Monday a lightning strike broke out in the coal mines near Ober-Roblingen, which involved 1,500 miners. One of the men's claims is the immediate release of two acres of land each for every married miner.

Communist Conference.

The Communist Party of Germany has called a Conference to be held during the next few weeks in Berlin.

The Unemployed in Berlin.

Berlin, 8th October, 1920.—Scores of thousands of unemployed in Berlin again held a demonstration yesterday. They went before the Town Hall, where 300 million marks of distress credits have been promised for them.

AUSTRIA.

The White Terror.

Vienna, 77th October, 1920.—It is officially stated that during the latest pogroms of Petlura's troops in Stanislavov there were counted 146 dead (of which 82 were peasants and the rest Jews), 166 casualties, 120 outrages on women, and 2,7700 thefts of horses. Particulars of the pogroms in seven other districts are not yet to hand.

INDIA.

To Smash the Empire.

The latest reports from India show that the call to boycott the British administration is being responded to widely. A telegram from Simla, dated October 15th, announces that the students of the Aligarh College, after a visit from Mr. Gandhi and the Ali brothers, have decided to refuse to attend lectures delivered under the auspices of the British Government, and have taken an oath to support non-co-operation. They have also called upon their Principal to renounce his title of C.I.E. and to decline nomination to the United Provinces Legislative Council. They have requested the Trustees of the College to abandon the Government grant, and Mr. Shankat Ali, one of the Nationalist leaders, has promised to provide the funds for the College, in its place. The Simla correspondent of the "Times" states that, in consequence of the boycott, there will be no contests for the new Legislative Councils in many parts of India.

The Ceylon National Congress has followed the example of the Indian National Congress, and has unanimously resolved to boycott the new scheme of constitutional reform granted recently by Lord Milner, as utterly inadequate and reactionary. The Congress also declared that the Governor, Sir W. H. Manning, by his failure to represent the wishes of the people to the Imperial authorities, had forfeited the confidence of the country.

BELGIUM.

The Miners.

Brussels, 19th October, 1920.—The miners of the Charleroy district voted by 22,127 against 4,138 votes to down tools on November 1st. Their claim is an advance in wages of 5 francs per day.

ITALY.

Reaction Sets in.

Milan, 20th October, 1920.—Throughout Italy the reaction is at work. Scores of Communist and Anarchist leaders, including Malatesta, have been arrested. New actions are feared.

POLAND.

A Red Army Formed.

Copenhagen, 15th October, 1920.—The "Krasnaja Gazeta" learns that a Polish Red Army has been built, consisting of Polish volunteers between the ages of 15 to 50 years. The Poles who fought in the Russian Army have also joined the new Polish Army. The general staff of this army is in Minsk.

British Terror in Ireland.

Excerpt from the Irish "Bulletin":—

"For many months propaganda has been carried on in Dublin Castle, having for its object the preparation of public opinion ourside Ireland for the assassination of Irish leaders. When journalists from England, France, America and other countries visited Dublin Castle, they were told that there were opposing parties within the Sinn Fein movement. One party were 'extremists,' and would have nothing less than a Republic. The other party was described as the 'moderate' Sinn Fein party, which was ready to accept a grant of Home Rule. The 'moderates' were, however, afraid of the 'extremists,' the 'extremists' having threatened them with assassination if they accepted less than Republican independence. On the other hand, it was suggested to these foreign correspondents who visited Dublin Castle, that the 'extremists' themselves were in danger themselves of assassination from what were called 'their own dupes.' It was in this way arranged that the newspaper representatives of the world would have their minds prepared for news of assassination in Ireland, and would also have been provided with a certain amount of 'inside' information as to which of the two Sinn Fein parties the assassins belonged. If it was a 'moderate' who was killed, it was the 'extremists' who killed him. If it were an 'extremist' who was assassinated, his 'dupes' had turned upon him. Many Press representatives were treated to this story of the opposing parties within Sinn Fein, and the likelihood of one party assassinating the other. But the story was not at first given for publication. It was merely mentioned confidentially. Whens the plans for assassination had been completed, the story was given out for publication abroad.

Mutilation of Murdered Man.

Mr. John Gibbons, of Balbriggan, co. Dublin, was seized in his house by English police. He was asked to give information as to members of the Irish Republican Army. He refused. He was beaten with rifle butts. The police then took him to the local barracks and questioned him. He declined to answer any questions implicating others. The police took him into the street and placed him in position for execution. He was asked to point out the houses of prominent Sinn Feiners. He refused, and a volley was fired over his head. The police then told him that if he did not give the information wanted they would finish him. He still refused the information, asked of him, and he was murdered by the police, his body being shamefully mutilated after death.

The Firing of Houses.

Michael and Patrick Furey, of Oranmore, co. Galway, were seized in their father's house by English police and brought in their night attire into the street. They were asked for information against those engaged in a recent attack on a police patrol. They refused to give it. They were then placed in position for execution, and were told that if they did not give the information in three minutes they would be shot. They continued to refuse, and were fired upon. Michael was badly wounded. An hour later his father's house was fired into and bombed by police.

Police Floggings.

In the villages of Corofin and Cummor, co. Galway, the villages refused to give the English police information for which they asked. On the nights of October 16th and 17th the police entered the villages in force. In Corofin they seized Mr. J. Rafferty, whom they stripped naked and flogged. They then seized four brothers named Thomas, Martin, William, and Patrick Feeney, whom they stripped, floggeda nd tortured. At Cummer a numerous police police party surrounded twenty young men who were in the street. They stripped them naked one by one and flogged them, sending each home naked and bleeding after his flogging. One young man named Michael Wilby, who tried to escape, was shot in the back, and is now dying.

Eastern Communists at Baku.

How British Capitalism Tried to Stop Them.

The Eastern Congress of the Third International at Baku, on September 1st, was attended by 1,890 delegates from 37 Eastern countries. This congress of Eastern peoples has made a breach in the wall which has separated the working masses of East and West and has linked up the fate of the Eastern peoples with that of the Russian Revolution.

The British Government took every possible precaution to prevent the penetration of the delegates to Baku. British vessels uninterruptedly cruised along the Trapezund shore with a view of arresting Turkish delegates. British aeroplanes raided Enzeli and dropped bombs on the steamer Kursk, which carried Persian delegates to the congress, and measures to hinder delegates were taken in Indian ports and on the frontiers. This is evidence that the British Government appreciated the great importance of the congress and desired to prevent it, but capitalism only succeeded in preventing 200 of the delegates from attending the congress.

Zinoviev, who presided over the congress, stated that the Third International supports the struggle for the emancipation of the colonies and oppressed countries, and takes the initiative in the organisation of the Nationalists against their enslavers. Hitherto it has often been said that the Socialist Revolution can take place only in the industrial countries of Western Europe. The Communist International submits its programme now for the first time to the so-called backward countries. It calls the labouring masses of the entire East to an agrarian revolution after the Russian example.

The speech of Comrade Zinoviev was received with an ovation of stormy applause from all present.

Sweeping Repression of Radical Activities in the United States.

Below, we give a long report of the measures employed by the United States Government to suppress radical bourgeois and mild and lawful labour organisations in America. The report ends with quotations from the platitudinous hypocrisies of President Wilson. It does not deal with the ultra-Governmental action taken against the American Communists, and the I.W.W. The American plutocrats are organised to crush the Radicals and exterminate the Revolutionaries. The full details of the campaign of violence against the latter are almost unbelievable. They surpass the persecution of the Russian revolutionaries under the Czar.

The National Popular Government League has published a report of an exhaustive investigation into the methods resorted to by the Department of Justice, in its attempted suppression of all radical activities in the U.S.A. The Committee which made the report includes the names of many prominent lawyers, whose duty it is to uphold the constitution and laws, and who do not belong to any Socialist, Communist, or Anarchist society, but who wish to bring to the attention of the American people the utterly illegal acts, which have been committed by those charged with the highest duty of enforcing the laws :—

"Acts which have caused widespread suffering and unrest, have struck at the foundation of American free institutions, and have brought the name of our country into disrepute.

"These acts may be grouped under the following heads :

"(1) *Cruel and Unusual Punishments.*

"The Eighth Amendment to the United States Constitution provides :—

"Excessive bail shall not be required nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted."

"Punishments of the utmost cruelty, and heretofore unthinkable in America, have become usual. Great numbers of persons arrested, both aliens and citizens, have been threatened, beaten with blackjacks, struck with fists, jailed under abominable circumstances, or actually tortured.

"(2) *Arrests Without Warrant.*

"The Fourth Amendment to the Constitution provides :—

"The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

"Many hundreds of citizens and aliens alike have been arrested in wholesale raids, without warrants or pretence of warrants. They have then either been released, or have been detained in police stations or jails for indefinite lengths of time while warrants were being applied for. This practice of making mass raids and mass arrests without warrant has resulted directly from the instructions, both written and oral, issued by the Department of Justice at Washington.

"(3) *Unreasonable Searches and Seizures.*

"The Fourth Amendment has been quoted above.

"In countless cases agents of the Department of Justice have entered the homes, offices, or gathering places of persons suspected of radical affiliations, and, without pretence of any search warrant, have seized and removed property belonging to them for use by the Department of Justice. In many of these raids property which could not be removed or was not useful to the Department, was intentionally smashed and destroyed.

"(4) *Provocative Agents.*

"The American people has never tolerated the use of under-cover provocative agents or 'agents provocateurs, such as have been familiar in old Russia or Spain. Such agents have been introduced by the Department of Justice into the radical movements, have reached positions of influence therein, have occupied themselves with informing upon or instigating acts which might be declared criminal, and at the express dictation of Washington have brought about meetings of radicals in order to make possible wholesale arrests at such meetings.

"(5) *Compelling Persons to be Witnesses Against Themselves.*

"The Fifth Amendment provides as follows :

"No person . . . shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law.

"It has been the practice of the Department of Justice and its agents, after making illegal arrests without warrant, to question the accused person and to force admissions from him by terrorism, which admissions were subsequently to be used against him in deportation proceedings.

"The legal functions of the Attorney General are : to advise the government on questions of law, and to prosecute persons who have violated federal statutes. For the Attorney General to go into the field of propaganda against radicals is a deliberate misuse of his office and a deliberate squandering of funds entrusted to him by Congress. A form letter was sent out by the Attorney General under date of January 27th, 1920, to many magazines and editors throughout the country, deliberately intended to prejudice them in favour of his actions, and an illustrated page was offered free to country newspapers at the expense of the Department of Justice, patently designed to affect public opinion in advance of court decisions and prepared in the manner of an advertising campaign in favour of repression. These documents speak for themselves.

"Since these illegal acts have been committed by the highest legal power in the United States, there is no final appeal from them except to the conscience and condemnation of the American people. American institutions have not in fact been protected by the Attorney General's ruthless suppression. On the contrary, those institutions have been seriously undermined, and revolutionary unrest has been vastly intensified. No organisations of radicals acting through propaganda over the last six months could have created as much revolutionary sentiment in America as has been created by the acts of the Department of Justice itself."

The report contains many cases of ill-treatment, of which we quote the following :—

CONDITIONS IN HARTFORD JAIL.

"In Bridgeport, Conn., on November 8th, 1919, various workingmen had come together to discuss ways and means for buying an automobile to be employed for instruction purposes. The meeting was raided and 63 men arrested without warrants by agents of the Department of Justice, and taken to the police station. A day or two later, 16 of these were released. The remaining 47, after being held three days in the police station, where they slept on iron bunks without cover or mattress, and where they were fed little or nothing, were transferred to the Hartford Jail. Other persons who were arrested in this way or who had applied at the Hartford Jail for permission to see their friends, were also taken up and confined in the jail. There were finally 97 men held for deportation. Most of them were questioned by Department of Justice agents ; some were beaten or threatened with hanging or suffocation in order to obtain answers from them. Warrants of arrest for these men were requested and obtained from the Department of Labour by the Department of Justice. Most of the 97 prisoners remained in practically solitary confinement until the end of April—five months.

"During these five months the prisoners were allowed no reading matter ; were kept alone in their cells except for occasional visits from Department of Justice agents or hearings before Department of Labour Inspectors ; were refused, in some cases, knowledge of the charges against them ; and knowledge of the amount of bail under which they were held ; were allowed only two to five minutes a day to wash their face and hands at a sink outside their cells, and five minutes once a month to wash their bodies in a tub, were given practically no exercise, and were fed with foul and insufficient food.

"In the Hartford Jail there exist four punishment rooms, all alike, unventilated and utterly dark, size four feet three inches by eight feet ten inches, with solid concrete floors, no furniture of any kind, and placed over the pump room of the boiler so that the temperature in them becomes unbearably high. A number of the supposed Anarchist or Communist prisoners, probably ten to fifteen, were confined in these rooms for periods of 36 to 60 hours. During their imprisonment in the suffocating heat without air, they were given one glass of water and one slice of bread every 12 hours. Some of them on being released had to be revived before they could be carried to their cells ; one man who was in only 36 hours was able to get to his cell unaided.

"That there were no substantial charges against at least ten of them is shown by the fact that after being held in $10,000 bail for two months and a half, those ten were released without bail on January 24th. It seems probable that at least a majority had no political views of any special nature, but were simply workingmen of Russian nationality speaking little or no English.

"RAID ON RUSSIAN PEOPLE'S HOUSE.

"On November 7th, 1919, agents of the Department of Justice, and the New York Bomb Squad, raided the Russian People's House, 133, East 15th Street, New York City, in search of supposed Anarchists and anarchistic literature.

"The executive committee of the Federated Unions of Russian Workers occupied an office in the building, which was confined to one room. The other rooms were used principally as educational classrooms, except a small restaurant or cafeteria.

"At the time of the raid the Department agents had a few warrents for the arrest of supposed offenders. They went through the building and broke up and destroyed most of the furniture in the place, including desks and typewriting machines. They 'beat up' the persons in the place, amounting to several hundreds, with blackjacks and stair rails ; broke up all the classes then in session and herded the students to the stairways, beating them as they went, shoving them from the landing on the stairway so that many fell and rolled down the stairs and were trampled upon by those who were shoved after them.

"After this raid several hundred prisoners were taken to the office of the Department of Justice at 13, Park Row, and there put through the third degree of inquisition. Less than one-fifth of them were held for deportation charges and all the remainder were released to go about their business as being innocent of any wrong-doing.

"Many of the persons assaulted suffered serious wounds, and one man who was taken to Ellis Island was in a terrible condition.

"JAILING RADICALS IN DETROIT.

"On January 2nd, Arthur L. Barkley, chief agent of the Department of Justice in Detroit, received an order from Attorney General Palmer instructing Mr. Barkey, according to his own statement, to raid the headquarters of a group of interdicted organisations, principally the Labour Party, "as long as they continue to meet,' in a 'supreme effort to break the back of radicalism' in Detroit. As a result, eight hundred men were imprisoned for from three to six days in a dark, windowless, narrow corridor running around the big central areaway of the city's antiquated Federal Building ; they slept on the bare stone floor at night. . . . They were compelled to stand in long lines for access to the solitary drinking fountain and the one toilet ; they were denied all food for twenty hours, and after that were fed on what their families brought in ; and they were refused all communication with relatives or with attorneys. These eight hundred men, so closely packed that they had to step over one another's bodies to move about at all, included in their number citizens and aliens, college graduates and labourers, skilled mechanics making $15 a day and boys not yet out of short trousers. They were seized without warrant while attending dances and classes in physical geography and similar subjects ; many of them had not even a cursory interest in radical politics.

"For from three to six days they held these men and boys in this temporary prison, and then began to transfer them to precinct police stations and to the 'bull pen' in the Municipal Building.

"From 130 to 140 men were herded into the police 'bull pen,' a room built to hold petty offenders for not more than three or four hours, a one-window cellar room, twenty-four by thirty feet in size, with no place to rest but wooden benches and a stone floor. For seven days these men were held here, sleeping on the floor, fed largely by the contributions from relatives handed through the single grated door.

"To-day, January 19th, the 300 men left of the 800 seized are housed in an old army fort here. In addition, about 140 are out on bond. Warrants for holding these 440 arrived from Washington on January 12th, ten days after the raids.

THE "HERALD'S" LEAGUE OF SOCIAL SERVICES.

Combine of Local Police and Labour.

In an editorial on Saturday, October 23rd, the *Daily Herald*, commenting on White Guards, and *agents provocateurs*, advocates :—

"A meeting of the Council and citizens, in order to organise whatever social services may be needed, and also to set on foot the organisation of the workers for the preservation of order. We do not want any military chiefs sent down from Whitehall for this purpose. The local police and local Labour people are quite capable of carrying through all that is necessary to be done.

On Tuesday, the *Herald* entertained us with delectable accounts of the "Cossacks in Whitehall," batoning the unemployed marchers. Does the *Herald* think the Borough police are more tender than the City police, that the men, sub-officers, and inspectors will obey the local and national Labour leaders, instead of the Home Office and the Bosses' Government? To what camp is the *Daily Herald* leading the *Heraldites*?

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SOUTH WALES NOTES. The Voice of the Rank and File.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF PANDY.

By R.P.

Once again the venal Press fills its columns with lurid accounts of rioting at Tonypandy. True, the South Wales papers endeavour to modify the reports and to give an impression that the whole business has originated with those irresponsible boys whose votes forced the strike. One reads, however, of an arrest, and lo! no boy, but a man, who, prior to the armistice was regarded as a hero. Then, one might ask: "What is the position?" Is it that the miner—drunken, ignorant, violent brute that he is (*vide* Press)—having no work to engage his attention, with time hanging heavy on his hands, turns his instincts and engages in wanton destruction? One need only visit any Welsh mining village for the briefest period to roar emphatically NO! The miners as a class are well educated, but, greater than his education, is his desire for more education. Imagine the psychology of these men. Filled with a burning desire to taste fully of the fruit of knowledge, yet condemned to live and exist under conditions that are degrading and not fit for beasts. Organised in a powerful Union that could, were it not checked by the parasitic leaders, quickly bring their emancipation. Forced by the tyranny of Capital to use their Union not to uplift their status, but to maintain that which has only been gained by sacrifice.

Is it a matter of surprise that the suppressed feeling of injustice occasionally bursts its barriers and gives vent in attacks upon the hired defenders of capital and private property. Rather must one be surprised that the expressions of class-hatred are not more extensive and frequent. With the first outbreak at "Pandy," as it is known locally, large numbers of extra police were drafted to the area, and signs are not wanting, however, that if the strike continues, every policeman in Great Britain will be required in South Wales. The spirit of revolt is spreading, and the miners are bracing their belts and facing the situation like men, and are preparing to make this the last fight.

With the continuance of the strike, however, with each hour exposing to the workers and soldiers, yea, and even to the police, the fact that the fight is a war between classes, surely we can safely count upon at least a split in the armed forces of capitalism.

The true significance of the "Pandy" riots can only be found when one investigates the spirit of the men at their lodge meetings. "Take control of the mines!" is the cry that is being echoed with ever-increasing force.

Revolution is in the air, and notwithstanding the stupidity of men like Brace, who refuse to allow a conference to discuss intelligently the situation revolutionary action will be taken.

The "Pandy" riots merely indicate the preparedness of the rank and file to make sacrifices and take all risks to overthrow a system that exploits the many for the advantage of a few.

POLICE TACTICS IN PANDY.

By HORACE PRICE.

Once again we find Tonypandy the scene of conflict with the forces of Law and Order. The first conflict took place at midnight, as a result of a number of young men going home singing the "Red Flag." This somewhat provoked the custodians of the law, and they unduly interfered. But the trouble did not arise from the action of the men, but by the action of a young lad of about 11 years of age throwing half-a-brick, which accidentally went through a window. On the Tuesday we found that the police were prepared to do anything to maintain order, and was actually begging the men to go home, but the trouble had been done by their silly and absurd interference on the previous night. It is really amazing that things are so quiet at a period like this, but the intelligence of the working class is being demonstrated in no uncertain fashion that it can remain so calm at this stage in the development of the class-struggle. It would be so silly for a worker to hope, with a mandril helve or stone, to combat the modern militarist machine; therefore, we have learnt that we are only strong in our Unions.

Official Betrayers of the Working Class.

The spirit of the men is really wonderful, and they have no false notions as to who they have to fight or why, and whatever further compromise may be suggested by the Miners' Federation, it will not meet with a very good reception, and as to more output, well, what a hope they have got. One would imagine to hear some of the pratings of those people whose photographs are on every railway station or hoarding in the country that they were the people who were going to produce more, but not only shall we have something to say on this subject, but shall have ALL to do. It is we at the coal face who will have to produce, and not these gentlemen whose only claims to notoriety is to how far they can be used unconsciously by the master class to defeat the objects and aspirations of those they claim to represent. We view with suspicion and fear the butting in of such gentlemen as CLYNES, THOMAS, and WILLIAMS, as an examination of their history in industrial disputes shows them to be the greatest compromisers in the Trade Union world, and as far as the rank and file of the miners are concerned, any compromise at this juncture will only danger and embitter our hostility towards such notorious Labour fakirs.

The greatest problem that will present itself to us during the next few weeks in the event of our not returning to work, will be that of keeping something in the pantry, and, necessity knowing no law, the working class should use every means at their disposal to get that which is necessary. As revolutionaries, we should endeavour to see that the provisioning of school children should immediately be proceeded with; also that wherever possible, use should be made of the Poor Law; in fact, any old way where money or food can be got, for it is our place to get it. We at least, cannot afford to have any scruples in this fight with the Boss Class.

The Left Wing at Pontypridd.

Earlier in the week, there was a conference of the Left Wing elements at Pontypridd, when discussion ranged in and around the question of how best to wage this struggle, and among other things, the question of control was discussed. This, of course, arose out of a resolution to withdraw all the men. It was argued that it was more or less silly to talk of withdrawing all the labour and discuss the question of control at the same time; but our Comrade, George Dolling, who is probably one of the finest tacticians in the South Wales coalfields, argued very effectively that until we, as workers, have a much more reduced pantried condition, it is more or less useless to talk about control, as upheavals and great changes can only be made possible when the condition of the working class has been reduced to such an extent that they can see that their only salvation lies in their making the great changes that involve their right to control their own destiny.

At the conference of the South Wales Miners' Federation oon Friday last the points of view put forward on the question of withdrawal of all the men were:—(1) That this resolution was destructive in character in so far as it affected our fight with the capitalist class, not so much as to its effect on property, as there was no-one at this conference who argued it from the point of view (except Mr. Brace) that to destroy private property would have the boomerang effect of hitting the working class, as we all realise that under capitalist society we have sometimes to strike at ourselves to knock the boss. The whole points of contention were that it was no business of ours to consider the master class, being only concerned how to effectively wage the fight and win out.

South Wales Stand for an Unconditional 2s.

It was ultimately decided at this conference that if we do not get two shillings unconditionally and from July 14th, we were to continue the struggle. Never have the rank and file stood so solidly as in the present struggle, and any compromise that may be made during the week-end will have the effect of further clarifying this solidarity.

Communists and the Strike.

By Ness Edwards.

It was a sorry, but nevertheless true, state of affairs which the "Herald" reporter gave an account of in the "Herald" of Friday last. In relating the story of the Tonypandy riot (?), he says of that historic battleground, The Square, that "It is the only sort of meeting-place for miles around. The square is scarcely as large as the average London flat, and into the little pocket hundreds of young men pour down in search of amusement and companionship."

There is much more behind this statement than meets the eye, and in this respect Tonypandy is typical of at least every mining village in South Wales, if not every other mining area.

During this strike thousands of workers are aimlessly wandering around those barren hills and rubbish-tipped towns, with nothing to do and much time to do it in, probably accompanied by a good supply of drizzly rain. Anyone who has lived in these mining villages, with their lack of social enjoyment and intercourse, will quickly realise that in a strike these conditions tend to bring "strike weariness" quickly into being. This "strike weariness" can be avoided, if Communists will act, and not only avoided, but these very conditions can be used with great advantage, from a revolutionary point of view.

Classes for the Strikers.

Almost every mining district has its miners' hall and institutes, which, for the most part, are idle for more time than they are used. Particularly in South Wales and Scotland, the Miners' Councils arrange for evening classes dealing in economics, history, etc., in the committee-rooms of these halls. In some places, too, the Plebs, and Communist groups manage similar classes and study groups under similar conditions. In a paper like the "Dreadnought," there is no need to talk of the value of these educational activities, and, in the main, we know that it is always the revolutionary element that is responsible for these activities. During this strike, and under such conditions as obtain in many mining areas, the opportunity presents itself for the intensifying of this movement. The classes could be held in the mornings, and additional study groups formed. These, of course, would be, in the main, for the student who had attended the evening lectures. Oftimes it is the teacher and student of these classes who control the local Union machinery, who control the use of the miners' institutes, and also who form the most extreme section in the area.

In the case of new study groups and classes, the economics and significance of the dispute could take first place, and in the hands of right teachers or class-leaders, the number of Communist students could easily be increased. During this strike, as in others, dozens of the younger workers would be only too glad to jump at such opportunities, rather than kick their heels about the monotonous mining areas. More general and topical addresses could be arranged for to meet the needs of the older men. Even local talent is not despised when nothing else is to be got, and, speaking for South Wales, there are dozens of able Communist speakers in every district. A revolutionary colouring can be given to the dispute, and enthusiasm could be stirred up, having for its basis a more enlightened (i.e. Communist) view of the situation, which would not only bring it to a successful issue, but also provide the basis for another move forward.

The bitterness of the hard facts of the situation, would drive home the truths of Communsit teachings and impress them with great firmness upon the minds of our fellow-workers.

Communist Teachings.

No doubt this short contribution will suggest many other things to those in the centre of the strike, and out of it all evolve a policy. In many districts the local Councils of Action are dominated by Communists, and here they can function in this respect, in a way that will gain much enthusiasm for the Workers' Council idea. In other districts, the extreme section controls what machinery there is, and can utilise it in the direction outlined. In this, where possible, making use of the local organisation, in other places the local Communist Party taking it up, comrades can prevent strike weariness, create revolutionary enthusiasm, obtain new spheres of influence for Communist propaganda, increase the number of Communist students, and make more stable and solid any forward movement. During such crucial strikes the workers' minds are far more receptive, and will absorb Communist ideas far more quickly than in normal times. Many may consider this side of our activities as a supplementary side, but we must realise that the golden opportunity for the propagating of our ideas is that period when the hard facts of experience bitterly press home the truths of the Communist position. To the extent that the Communist truths are pressed home, and consciousness takes the place of unconsciousness, so to that extent may we obtain an increasing number of class-conscious workers and therefrom increasing attacks upon the present order of society. In periods of strikes, lethargy gives way to activity, and it is at such moments our blows should fall quickest and heavy, for it is at such times they make the greatest effect.

FACTS ABOUT THE STRUGGLE.

(*Continued from page one*).

been felt for quite a long time), and here the basis of the claim was first altered, and the right of the worker to the total product was forfeited. The miners, realising the danger, answered the proposal in the manner deserved, refusing to accept responsibility for output whilst the present system of production continues. They have learned, too, that an intensification of their labour is equal to an extension of their working day.

It followed that if this proposal was accepted, the dream of a five-day week, and a 6-hour day, was shattered, and there is not the slightest intention on their part to give up any of this programme,, which is towards reducing the amount of labour power given, or raising their standard of living in fact there is no limit to the demands which will be put forward, until we secure the total value of the product, and the absolute control of the means of production.

The miners, in common with all other workers, are rapidly becoming class-conscious, and certainly more able to understand their own real interests.

The outcome of the struggle depends upon the solidarity of the working class generally, and the miners especially, for if they break down, this opportunity is lost. The coal that has been stocked, will only be useful if it is taken to places where it is required. We expect the workers to refuse to handle this coal. Without being conscious of it, the miners are putting into practice principles which Communists stand for. The economic urge is driving them forward irresistably towards the goal of securing their total value of their product; that, with control, is Communism. At the least, this struggle means an effort to raise the standard of living. At the most, it is a skirmish with the enemy, which will give all workers confidenceand experience for the coming struggle. Either reason is sufficient to justify the support of all Conscious Workers.

COMMUNIST PARTY (B.S.T.I.).
Stepney and District Branch.

SOCIAL AND DANCE.

In Aid of the *Workers's Dreadnought,*
and to Celebrate
The Third Anniversary of the Ruasian Soviet Revolution.
will be held on
SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 6th, 1920, at 8 p.m.
at the
INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST CLUB.
28, East Road, City Road, N.

ALL T.U.'s AND WORKERS' ORGANISATIONS
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A READER'S APPEAL TO "DREADNOUGHT" SUPPORTERS.

As one of the oldest supporters of the "Workers' Dreadnought," I appeal to you in all earnestness to give it and the Communist Party, of which it is the organ, your support in these critical days.

Its Editor, as you know, is charged under D.O.R.A., which still lives, although the war is over, to protect the capitalist class from the working class.

Sylvia Pankhurst will be tried at the Mansion House next Thursday.

In the meantime, we are frightfully anxious about the position of our fearless newspaper, which has led the way in the Communist fight in this country, and therefore is now attacked by the Capitalist Government. The fact is, we are SHORT OF MONEY to buy paper, which we require immediately. We are also owing money to our printer, and are thus putting him into financial difficulties, in addition to the personal risks he runs by printing the paper for all.

This is all too heavy a burden, and we ask you to consider it a question of honour to assist us in meeting our liabilities. We ask you to understand that the existence of the "Dreadnought" is at stake.

MELVINA WALKER.

158, West India Dock Road,
October 22nd.

COMMUNIST PARTY

British Section of the Third International.

CONDITIONS OF MEMBERSHIP.—The acceptance of the following points: (1) The complete overthrow of Capitalism and the establishment of Communism. (2) The Class struggle. (3) The Dictatorship of the Proletariat. (4) The Soviet or Revolutionary Workers' Council system. (5) Affiliation to the Third International. (6) Refusal to engage in Parliamentary Action. (7) Non-affiliation to the Labour Party.

MINIMUM WEEKLY SUBSCRIPTION: Threepence. Entry Fee: One Shilling.

Provisional Secretary: EDGAR T. WHITEHEAD, 8, Sinclair Gardens, West Kensington, London, W.14.

Branches' notes and list of meetings, sent in for publication, should reach the Secretary not later than first post Thursday morning.—All articles and news matter (other than Branches' notes) to be sent to: 400, Old Ford Road, Bow, London, E.3. and marked: "The Editor, The Workers' Dreadnought."

The "WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT" may be obtained for sale at 3/- per quire (26 copies). Usual Trade rates for wholesale and retail newsagents.

All Members should make a special effort to see that our paper is on sale and posters displayed at local newsagents, trade union branches, in the workshop and at all public meetings in their districts.

BRANCH NOTES.

London Central.

On Saturday, October 16th, a provisional meeting was held at 152, Fleet Street, with the object of forming a Central London Branch of the Communist Party (B.S.T.I.). Comrade Mackay was elected to the chair. It was proposed and seconded that H. Bernard act as secretary, and the latter provisionally accepted the post. The meeting discussed and fully endorsed the seven cardinal principles laid down in the Communist Party (B.S.T.I.) Provisional Programme. Comrade Williams was elected delegate for the branch to the National Executive Council, and L. Parlons accepted the post of branch treasurer *pro. tem.* Secretary's address: c/o 152, Fleet Street, E.C. 4.

Swansea.

Swansea, like most industrial towns, is indeed beginning to feel the effects of the coal strike. The steel and spelter industries are at a standstill, and most of the other industries will follow suit at the end of the week. Suggestions re modifying the distress is under consideration by the local council, but I'm afraid if the strike evolves into a general stoppage, something bigger and of greater possibilities will operate by the ones who are in an advanced state of working-class education. Exclamations by Lloyd George are conspicuous upon hoardings, the object being to create chaos of opinion regarding the real cause of unemployment and its consequence. I'm afraid he is too late; anyhow, I hope so. Secretary: Ernest Penny, c/o 60, Alexandra Road, Swansea.

Manchester.

Dear Comrades,—Please give our fraternal greetings to our mutual comrade, Sylvia Pankhurst, whom, we are told, is now in the hands of the "Law and Order Party." It is no shock to us, because the authorities know full well which party, and which person, is a menace to their power. We can only say—CARRY ON! as strongly as ever. Let us take it as an inspiration for a sterner prosecution of THE CLASS WAR.—Yours for the Revolution, FRANK ELDER.

Stepney.

The new secretary of the Stepney Branch is S. Ginsburg, c/o International Socialist Club, 28, East Road, City Road, N. 1.

Fifty Pounds Wanted.

In order to clear the deficit on the first quarter's working and renew necessary stocks, the Communist Party requires a sum of Fifty Pounds.

The Party Membership has more than trebled since the Party's inception in June, and we are getting some real power into the revolutionary machine we are building.

We are called the Communist Party. Our work is vital for the destruction of Capitalism. See to it, Comrades, that the sinews of war are provided.

All donations should be remitted to the Treasurer,

T. J. WATKINS: *Hon. Treasurer.*
14, Glyn Gwyn, Tre Thomas, Mon.

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

Ernest Betts 10s, Porth Comrades 19s, Francis O'Grady 5s, Manchester Comrades Communist Saturday 14s 6d, James Farrar 3s, Holt Comrades 5s 7d, Camberwell Comrades 17s 6d, Comrade Daly 5s, Miss F. Houghton 5s, Soho Comrades £1 1s 8d.

LONDON MEETINGS: OUTDOOR.

Whitechapel.
Osborne Street, Sundays, at 11.45 a.m.

Poplar.
Dock Gates, Sundays, at 7 p.m.

Camberwell.
Saturday, 30th, Hanover Park, Rye Lane, 7.30.
Sunday, 31st, Peckham Rye, 11 a.m.

Soho.
The Broadway, Golden Square. Every Thursday at 7.30 p.m. Comrades Cornwallis and Davidson in charge.

Hammersmith.
The Grove. Every Thursday at 8 p.m.

Willesden.
Manor Park Road, next Friday, October 29th. Comrades R. Bishop and F. Willson.

Bow.
St. Stephen's Road. Every Saturday at 6.30 p.m.

Birmingham.
Bull Ring. Every Friday at 7.30. Every Sunday at 7 p.m.

Stepney.
Mile End Waste (opposite Stepney Green). Every Wednesday at 8 p.m. Local Communist speakers. Every Friday at 8.15 p.m. Osborne Street, Whitechapel. The City of London branch has now been affiliated with this branch.

Barking.
Near Barking Station, Saturday, October 30th. Six p.m. Speaker: Minnie Birch.

INDOOR BRANCH MEETINGS.

Soho International.
58, Old Compton Street, Soho, W. Every Wednesday at 8.30 p.m. prompt.

Bow.
400, Old Ford Road. Every Thursday at 7.30 p.m.

Poplar.
20, Railway Street. Every Thursday at 8 p.m.

Camberwell.
16, Peckham Road, Mondays, at 7.45 p.m.

Hull.
Argyle House, Aulaly Road. Every Wednesday night at 8 p.m.

Hammersmith.
Labour Rooms, 154, Goldhawk Road, Shepherds Bush. Every Monday at 8 p.m. All Party members and inquirers welcome.

Barking.
All indoor meetings are held at Glenhurst, Ripple Road.

HYDE PARK PROPAGANDA GROUP.

Sundays, at 11.30 a.m. Prince of Wales, Harrow Rd., Paddington.

Sundays, from 4 p.m. till 10 p.m. Hyde Park, Marble Arch.

Wednesdays, at 7.30 p.m. Garrould's Corner, Edgware Road.

Thursdays, at 7.30 p.m. Prince of Wales, Harrow Road.

Saturdays, 6 p.m. till 10 p.m. Hyde Park, Marble Arch.

FRED TYLER'S REPORT.

In many towns and industrial areas I found many sincere Communists, and I have particularly noticed the sacrifices they are making for the cause. I do not intend to mention names, but who ever reads these lines will know who is meant. Judging by my experiences, I have no hesitation in declaring that our propaganda work can be increased and made more effective if our young men, who are speakers, will take the open road during the coming summer, thus saving local groups most expense, viz., railway fares, and, incidentally, lead to the abolition of fees and terms. I am not making this proposal in any self-conceit, but I contend that all revolutionary papers should appeal to speakers able to undertake such a task, to place the Cause before all, during the coming open-air season, such towns to be organised during the winter. Thus speakers might get to all areas without any cost, buying food out of collection. This is a test for the "big guns."

FRED TYLER.

13, Twycross Street,
Highfield, Leicester.

ALL WORKERS SHOULD READ THE NEW PAMPHLET OF
A. LOSOVSKY (S. A. DRIDZO).
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